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hearts of many among us, and that there are sentinels on our watch-towers who will not cease to warn us against that apathetic confidence of safety which invites danger.

It must be a comforting reflection to those who have no fear of the ultimate predominance of the papal hierarchy in this country, and regret what they consider unfounded accusations, that all the efforts which could properly be made to prevent that predominance are appropriate and even necessary efforts to avert the lesser evil, and yet a great evil, of such increase of this power as would perpetuate as they are, and multiply among us, a numerous population, whose intellectual faculties would be "cabined, cribbed, confined," — whose volitions would not be their own, — whose conduct would be guided by a single will, whenever that will should determine to guide it, — and who, stationary themselves, would, instead of aiding, retard the upward progress of man, and the onward progress of the republic.

ART. VI. — *Der Jaköbiner Klub. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Parteien und der politischen Sitten im Revolutions-Zeitalter, von J. W. ZINKEISEN.* Berlin: Erster Theil. 1852. Zweiter Theil. 1853. [The Jacobin Club. A Contribution to the History of Parties and Political Morals during the Revolutionary Period, by J. W. Zinkeisen. 2 vols.]

It required all the industry and research for which the Germans are proverbial, to prepare this most valuable contribution to historical literature. The work is thorough and accurate, and its author is obviously a complete master of his subject, to which he has devoted years of labor in collecting and digesting the mass of memoirs, journals, and fly-sheets, in which the history of the Jacobin Club is, of necessity, principally to be found. He seems, indeed, to have sought information in every possible quarter, occasionally drawing a few items even from American sources, and once, at least, from the reports of the insane asylums of Paris, to which retreats, indeed, some

of his personages might sooner have found their way to the advantage of France and the world. Mr. Zinkeisen is by no means unknown in the rich historical literature of Germany. He has, if we mistake not, made more than one valuable contribution to it; but the only other work of his which we can claim to have examined is his *History of the Turkish Empire in Europe*, of which but two volumes has as yet appeared. It forms a portion of the valuable series of histories of European countries, known, from the names of its original editors, as the Heeren and Ukert series. Mr. Zinkeisen's work upon Turkey is not so voluminous nor so documentary as the great work of Von Hammer, nor is it likely to procure him so substantial a triple reward in titles, fame, and money; but it will probably be read by twenty persons where that is by one.

We could praise the typographical appearance of the *History of the Jacobin Club*, were we not sorry to perceive that Mr. Zinkeisen has so far enrolled himself among the disciples of the brothers Grimm — the Noah Websters of Germany — as to print his book in Roman letters, abandoning the familiar Germanic characters. The arguments may all be in favor of the Roman letters. Perhaps the German letters never *ought* to have existed; but they have existed, it is under their guise that we have become acquainted with the works of the poets, philosophers, and historians of Germany, and we therefore see with sorrow any attempt to cast aside these old servants, rather these old friends, who have been so faithful to us. It may be mere fancy or habit, but we seem to see in the very forms of the German letters something characteristic of the noble language of the "Fatherland." But perhaps, instead of complaining, we ought to be grateful that our author has stopped where he has; that he has not, with the Grimms, in their desire to introduce a literal "republic of letters" deprived his substantives of their familiar capitals, nor dropped out an *h* here and slipped it in there, in obedience to some newly discovered rule that it does no good in the one place and will do some in the other, or that its insertion or omission was originally a flagrant violation of the analogies of the language, — which we believe is the phrase of progressive lexicographers. Did we hope that the suggestion would be heeded, we would, more-

over, venture a protest against the practice which Mr. Zinkeisen has perhaps rightly followed, as it is almost universal in Germany, and which is becoming very common in England and America, that of publishing the volumes of historical works at different, and often widely separated periods. But we fear that the direct and obvious advantages which this course possesses will so far combine with fashion as to overpower the still greater, though less apparent, advantages of the other course, so that our protest would be of little avail; and we will therefore, with a word or two about Mr. Zinkeisen's style, pass to the real object of this paper, — a sketch of the interior history of the Jacobin Club. The style seems to us, on the whole, clear and concise. There is, indeed, occasionally a confused sentence, or a strained metaphor, or an expression which in point of grammar bids defiance to all the rules of our Ollendorff (as Vol. II. p. 511); but when we compare it with the complex style of some of his countrymen, Neander for example, we see abundant cause to be grateful. There might perhaps be good ground for accusing our author of wandering from his subject, as for instance in much that is said of Mirabeau, but he defends that great man so successfully from the charges which have been ignorantly brought against him, that we forgive this digression at least, and, as we propose to follow him in others, criticism would hardly be appropriate.

It is, no doubt, an essential characteristic of the human mind that leads men to seek strength in association, and "the fate and activity of the Jacobin Club certainly present the most remarkable and momentous episode in the history of this spirit of association. It is at once the history of the entire club system, as it developed itself at the time of the first French Revolution, and forms therefore a most important contribution to the history of parties and political customs during the Revolution. For, while, on the one side, the ever bolder stand taken by the Jacobin Club led to the formation of all the more important unions of this sort, which, starting from various points of view, fancied they could withstand its boundless activity, on the other hand, the club system and the leveling spirit which animated it penetrated, with that as its model and under its power, through all classes of society, into the

most trifling relations, to the very vital nerve of the whole nation, in a manner that could not fail to raise it to a power to which in its way the history of the world can show no parallel."

Mr. Zinkeisen divides the history of this too famous Club into six principal periods, which mark sufficiently its decisive eras. They are,—1. The history of the *Club Breton* from its origin at Versailles to its removal to Paris in consequence of the events of October 5th and 6th, 1789, and the removal thither of the Assembly; 2. Its transformation into the Club of the Friends of the Constitution in the Jacobin Convent at Paris (*Société des Amis de la Constitution séante aux Jacobins à Paris*), and its contest with the moderate constitutional principle of the Revolution, till the separation of the Feuillans from it in July, 1791; 3. The continued contest between the Jacobins and the Feuillans, and the decisive victory of the former, down to the "September days" in 1792; 4. The contest of the Jacobins and Girondists, and the defeat of the latter, down to the end of October, 1793; 5. The Jacobin Club during the Reign of Terror down to the Ninth Thermidor, or July 27, 1794; and 6. The decline of Jacobinism, and the final closing of the Club, on November 11, 1794, with the subsequent attempts at its revival. We do not propose to present here even a sketch of the contents of the two capacious volumes before us,—which contain indeed a history of the French Revolution from a new and original point of view,—but rather to confine ourselves to an account of the Club itself and its mode of organization,—to what may be called its inner history,—touching but briefly upon its outward activity, its contests and victories, which are to be found detailed at greater or less length in every history of the period. We are moved to attempt this by the surprising fact that, much as has been written of the Jacobins and Jacobinism, we have nowhere in the English language found anything approaching to a complete account of the organization of the Club, and what is contained in most of our histories upon the subject abounds in egregious errors, so numerous that the matter had better been left untouched. Still, we cannot point out these errors in detail, from want of space; but our own description, which, with Mr. Zinkeisen's assistance, we

trust will be found correct, will enable any one curious in the matter to discover them. The wide diffusion and general correctness of Alison's History of Europe must however be our excuse for referring to some of the errors into which its author has fallen.

Our author traces the origin of the French Clubs back to the "Committees" of our own Revolution, which were copied by the French nobility, among whom the diffusion of liberal principles in politics became at one time a sort of mania. But the first society which took the name of a club arose at Paris in 1782, and owed its origin to a trivial occurrence. The Duke of Orleans, then Duke of Chartres, cut down most of the trees in the Palais Royal in order to make room for shops, so that a crowd of idlers, who had been accustomed to meet beneath them, were driven to seek another place of meeting, and found it in certain rooms of the same Palais Royal, where the police allowed them to assemble on the express condition that they should not discuss politics nor religion. Thus was founded the *Club Politique*, as it was named, *lucus a non lucendo*. It soon led, both in Paris and in the provinces, to numerous similar associations, which, however, did not always observe the order not to discuss politics; and among others we find mention made in 1785 of a *Club des Américains*, whose members called themselves *puristes libéraux*. These clubs, however, were strictly confined to the upper classes, and were in many respects not unlike the English clubs of the present day. On the meeting of the Etats Généraux at Versailles, the deputies from Brittany, influenced probably by the peculiar condition of that province, formed the Club Breton, which was destined to become the world-renowned Jacobin Club, and to exercise for some years an almost unlimited despotism over France.* The first idea of the Club Breton proceeded from

* Alison's statement (I. 474), that "it had its meetings in Paris, and embraced all the decided democrats both in and out of the Assembly," is, therefore, as applied to the period of which he is speaking, incorrect in both particulars. He indeed contradicts himself; for on a subsequent page (II. 9) he says: "The Club Breton, which, as already noticed, contained the extreme Revolutionary characters, hitherto, however, confined to members of the States-General, followed the Assembly from Versailles," &c. We are also disposed to doubt his assertion on the point first referred to, that "little is known of its designs, because all its members were bound by a solemn oath to

no less a personage than Mirabeau, but its founder was Chapelier, a young advocate from Rennes, at whose instance the forty-four deputies from Brittany opened their Club in rooms at No. 36 Avenue St. Cloud, at Versailles, during the month of May, 1789. Its original object was merely the preliminary discussion of the questions which from time to time arose in the States-General, and the advantages of this course, as at once manifested in the correct information and sound judgment of the Breton deputies in that body, soon led to a desire among the deputies of other provinces to join in its deliberations, which was readily allowed, without any formalities. Among its members who afterwards became prominent were the Abbé Sièyes, the brothers Lameth, Barnave, Robespierre, and others. As early as June 22, it contained as many as one hundred and fifty members, but from that time till its removal to Paris there are no data for determining their number, though it was largely increased. Soon, a certain formality began to be observed at its meetings, but for a considerable time no records were kept. The prevailing sentiment of the Club was originally by no means hostile to the king, though it soon became so in some degree, after a proffer of its services had been rejected by the ministers. What the result would have been had the government acted differently in this respect it is impossible to tell; but "who," says our author, "could have then imagined, that out of this society of a few deputies of the third estate a power would gradually arise which would finally dare, under the shield of certain principles, to insult and bid defiance to all the powers of the state, the throne, the National Assembly, the armed forces and public opinion,—a power which in its unlimited development could only lead to ruin and political madness?" Repulsed, ridiculed, and misrepresented by the court, the Club Breton began to assume a decided position, to open a correspondence with the provinces, and, in Brittany at least, to encourage the formation of similar associations, in which we may detect the first traces of that grand system of affiliated societies, which constituted the

divulge none of its proceedings." If such an oath was ever taken, it was never observed; for we do not find that there is the least obscurity hanging over the designs of the Club Breton.

great source of the power of the Jacobin Club. The Club Breton, however, adhered in general to its original object of the preliminary discussion of important questions, though it sometimes originated measures,—as the abolition of feudal rights, decreed August 4, 1789,—and its influence extended itself more and more, though, as its meetings were not public, its proceedings were not published, and its members were exclusively deputies, it did not come into contact with the people, and its influence with them was therefore very limited.

On October 19, 1789, the Assembly transferred its sessions to Paris, and the Club Breton naturally followed its example, procuring a place of meeting near that of the Assembly,—which was at what is now the corner of the Rue Castiglione and the Rue de Rivoli,—in the convent of the Jacobins in the Rue St. Honoré, whence it afterwards received and adopted the name of the Jacobin Club. Two hundred francs a year were paid as rent for the dining-room,* and an equal sum provided the requisite furniture, which at first consisted only of some second-hand chairs and some cheap tables for the officers. The meetings were at once commenced, but seem not to have been very numerously attended; for the radical tendencies, as they were then considered, of some of the members had alarmed the more moderate ones, so that on the first day only about a hundred were present; but that number was doubled on the second day. Officers were elected, and the rules of the Assembly were, on recommendation of a committee, adopted for the guidance of the Club. As it had ceased to be composed exclusively of deputies from a single province, it was natural that its original name of Club Breton should no longer be considered appropriate, and with a good deal of sagacity they selected the attractive name of *Société des Amis de la Constitution*; for the names of Jacobins and Jacobin Club date from a later period, and, like so many other party names, are said to have been first derisively applied by their opponents, though they seem to have been readily adopted by the members, and were in general use as early as the beginning of

* It was not the library, as Alison (II. 9) asserts. That was afterwards used for a short time, when the Club had outgrown the room first occupied, as we shall presently see.

the year 1790. The other was, however, retained as the official name till a much later period, namely, till September 21, 1792, when the Jacobins, having ceased to pretend to care for the constitution, thought proper to change the name to *Société des Jacobins, Amis de l'Égalité et de la Liberté*. As in the Club Breton, deputies alone could at first be members; but soon, in order to increase the intellectual power and influence of the society, political writers who had distinguished themselves by their useful works were admitted, though the number of these was limited to two hundred, who must be residents of Paris; and such was the care pursued in the selection, that it was two months before the number was complete. The time had not come, as Bertrand de Moleville remarks, when the only question put was, "What hast thou done to deserve to be hung?"* On the contrary, a committee of twelve was appointed, (*comité de présentation*,) which met every Thursday to examine the claims of members proposed and the papers of those newly elected. It was to the same committee that at a later period the examination of the credentials of the delegates from the affiliated societies was intrusted. The Duke of Chartres, afterwards Louis Philippe, was elected a member of this committee on November 3, 1790. The election of members of the Club took place at first on nomination by two members, but afterwards, in the case of those not deputies, five and six were required, who guaranteed the political and moral character of the candidate, and then, if the committee found nothing against him, he was ballotted for by the Club.† All nominations were in writing, and

* Nor did this time ever come. Bertrand de Moleville, like many other authors, misrepresents this matter by suppressing the qualifying clause. The whole phrase was, "What hast thou done to be hung if the reaction should triumph" (*si la contre-révolution arrivait*)? But even in this form it was only a casual expression used by an *enragé*, Dubois Crancé, in the Jacobin Club, December 28, 1793, and it never was a question authoritatively put to new members. Alison (II. 131) gives the whole expression, but falls into the error of supposing that it was really one of the questions put to applicants for admission.

† Alison's statement (II. 9), that "from this time [the removal to Paris] admission was given to all persons who were recommended by two members of the society as fit to belong to it," is therefore not correct. As little so is the passage (p. 131), "Never was a man of honor — seldom a man of virtue — admitted within the so-

signed by at least one member of the committee. The names of those nominated remained during two meetings posted on a list, with the names of those proposing them. A person once rejected could not ordinarily be proposed again within a month. Any member proved to have expressed either orally or in writing, or by his daily actions to have exhibited, opinions in conflict with the constitution or the rights of man, "in a word, with the spirit of the society," might be called to account by the president, or expelled by a majority of votes. Members not visiting the Club for a month could be expelled, unless a good reason was given for their absence. Twenty-one years was the age at which a person could be eligible, and when Louis Philippe (we use his later name) proposed to reduce this age to eighteen, avowing that his object was to render his younger brother, the Duc de Montpensier, eligible, it was considered better to make an exception to the rule than to alter it, — an exception justified, it was urged, by the excellence of the Duke's education. Such were the general rules concerning members and their admission, but at various periods in the history of the Club they seem to have been slightly varied.

The number of deputies who became members soon increased to four hundred, and, after the number of two hundred non-deputies had been filled up, so much opposition was manifested to the limitation that it was removed, and others than authors were admitted, though the preference seems still to have been given to the latter. But in this way the Club soon outgrew its room, and removed, first into the library, and afterwards into the church, of the Jacobins, which latter was elegantly fitted up for its meetings, and was occupied by it till its final dissolution. This room or hall formed a rather long quadrangle, on all sides of which the seats for the members and for those on whom "the honor of the sitting" was bestowed, rose like an amphitheatre. At the middle of one of the longer sides was the orator's tribune, while opposite to it were the secretaries' desks, and above them that of the president, both

ciety; it had an innate horror of every one who was not attached to its fortunes by the hellish bond of committed wickedness. A robber, an assassin, was certain of admission, as sure as the victim of their violence was of rejection." He speaks in a similar manner on page 58.

mere plain tables. On the right of the president, and obliquely opposite to the tribune, was the reporter's place, while behind the president was a sort of altar of black marble of considerable size, which had originally been a Gothic monument. On the lower and middle part of this were "the rights of man," inscribed on a richly ornamented tablet, around which were — for we are anticipating in point of time, and speak of 1792 — pictures representing the principal events of the Revolution. Upon the altar were the busts of Brutus, Rousseau, Helvetius, Mirabeau, Franklin, and others, while over it hung three standards of freedom around a bundle of pikes, from which one pike projected, and bore, for some time at least, the red cap, the symbol of liberty. In April, 1792, the chains of some mutinous soldiers, who had been condemned to the galleys and afterwards freed in triumph by a sort of insurrection, were hung in festoons around the walls, as a peculiar ornament. At each end of the room were two very large galleries for spectators, one over the other, the lower one being intended for women and the upper for men. On the front of these galleries was the motto of the Club, *Vivre libre ou mourir*. The hall was always brilliantly lighted,* and it never was the case that the members were dirty, tattered persons. The members were always well dressed, and Robespierre is spoken of as maintaining a striking elegance in his attire at the meetings of the Club, for which he was accustomed to prepare himself "with as much care as a lady for a ball."† The rabble never were members of the Jacobin Club itself. They found places of meeting in numerous societies patronized and countenanced, it

* As usual when speaking of the Jacobin Club, Alison is incorrect in saying (II. 131) that "a few lamps only lighted the vast extent of the room," and (II. 536) "night and day they sat debating in their vast and gloomy hall."

† Alison is again wrong in asserting (II. 131) that "the members appeared for the most part in shabby attire," and the two following passages from the same and the preceding pages are better rhetoric than history: "Numbers of bats at night flitted through the vast and gloomy vaults, and by their screams augmented the din of the meeting. Such was the strife of contending voices, that muskets were discharged at intervals to produce a temporary cessation of the tumult." (!) "In this den of darkness were prepared the bloody lists of proscription and massacre; the meetings were opened with revolutionary songs, and shouts of applause followed each addition to the list of murder, each account of its perpetration by the affiliated societies."

is true, by the Jacobin Club, and some of them meeting in the same building, but never having any recognized official connection with it.* We may add, though Mr. Zinkeisen nowhere expressly mentions it, that the members of the Jacobin Club usually sat with their hats on, but spoke always with uncovered heads. The ordinary meetings were held four times a week, (though at one time they seem to have been held every day that the Assembly did not sit, except Sundays and feast days,) from six o'clock till ten in the evening; but extraordinary meetings were sometimes convened, and at times the Club declared itself *en permanence*, and sat through day and night. Every meeting was opened by the reading of the journal of the preceding one. The ordinary mode of voting was by rising and sitting. The officers were all members of the Club, serving without pay, and elected at regular intervals, the president being chosen at first once a month, but afterwards every fortnight. In the absence of the president, the last of his predecessors who was present seems to have taken his place. One of the most important offices was that of the four censors (*censeurs*) or ushers, who took seats near the four secretaries, and who seem to have discharged the various functions of the sergeant-at-arms, door-keepers, and pages of the legislative bodies of this country; for we find that it was their duty to care for the order and inner police of the room, to carry to the president or secretaries anything that the members desired to send, and to receive at the door the cards of admission of the members and others; for as long as the meetings were not public, a limited number of persons were admitted by tickets issued for the purpose. The censors, moreover, took care that during the meeting every member wore his ticket in his button-hole as a distinguishing mark. These tickets bore the members' names, and were not transferable, the violation of this rule being punished by expulsion, which, Louis Philippe records, was once inflicted while he was censor.

* These societies for the populace, the *Sociétés Fraternelles* and *Société des Deux Sexes*, were first established towards the close of 1790. They admitted every one, men, women, and even children of twelve years of age. No fees were paid, but every member in turn was obliged to bring a tallow candle for the president's table. They met ordinarily on Sunday and Tuesday evenings.

The expenses of the Club for rent, light, correspondence, &c. were considerable, and continually on the increase. Every member, therefore, paid 36 livres (about \$ 7.20) a year, but how small a portion of the actual expenses this sum would meet may be inferred from the fact, that in 1791 the disbursements were 47,000 livres for printing, and 40,000 for postage. The precise number of members in that year does not appear, but in the first half of the year 1792 the average number of members was 3,500, who would therefore have paid 126,000 livres, a sum which could by no means have sufficed for the ordinary and obvious expenses of the Club, and, moreover, by that time the secret expenses had grown to be quite large. There was for a considerable period great difficulty in ascertaining from what source the Jacobins drew the money to supply this deficiency. For a time they may have obtained something from the Orleanist party, but that resource must have soon ceased, and there were few, if any, members able and willing to devote their own private property to the promotion of the objects of the Club. Indeed, at one time the want of money is said by one of their number, who afterwards became their bitter opponent, to have been so great, that they readily admitted new members for the sake of their fees ; and it is certain that the very existence of the Club was for a season endangered, because the ground on which their hall was situated was judicially ordered to be brought to the hammer, in consequence of the inability on the part of the person who, in the interest of the Club, had bought it, to meet his payments. This was at once cunningly declared to be a trick of the ministers to destroy the Club, and an appeal to the patriotism and purses of its members and friends produced, in a short time, 700,000 francs, which relieved it from its troubles. Still, such an expedient could not be renewed. Contributions were at first taken up at every meeting, but their product was so small that the practice was finally continued only in order to conceal the true source of the money which was at times so freely spent. There seems now to be no doubt that this money was derived from counterfeit *assignats*, made in the prisons of Paris, and put into circulation by the followers of the Club. So well known was this to some persons, that

Delangle, one of the Commissioners of the Sections, in a report presented to the ministers could say: "I offer to prove that 50,000 francs of counterfeit *assignats* are made daily in the prisons of Paris. I will give the rooms and the number, and I will point out the straw beds, the walls, the floors, in and beneath which they may be found. I will also prove that the false *assignats* which are seized are, instead of being burned, immediately put into circulation again." In the prison of La Force alone several millions of francs of these false *assignats* were made in six months, and sold at a low price to those who circulated them; and the ministers, though well aware of this state of things, had not the courage to put a stop to it, not even though, after the bloody days of September, 1792, all the instruments necessary for counterfeiting were discovered and seized. They merely contented themselves with one or two arrests. Could anything better show the timidity and powerlessness of the government, or the corruption and audacity of the Jacobins?

As for the relations of the public to the Club, the people were at first entirely shut out from all participation in its proceedings, because its meetings were not open, and only a small number could be daily admitted by the cards of admission already referred to.* This naturally caused considerable dissatisfaction both within and without the Club; but though the place for spectators had probably been enlarged during the short time that the Club occupied the library, it was not till they removed to the church that a preparation in any respect adequate was made for the public. The galleries there would contain 1,500 persons, and were constantly crowded; being often filled four hours before the meeting opened. They soon became the meeting-place of large numbers of the lower classes, who were ready to serve any one who could work upon the senses or the imaginations of the masses by good money or poor rhetoric. Both in the Assembly and in the Jacobin Club the galleries were an important, and not seldom a decisive, element in the strife of contending parties, granting or withholding their applause as it was made for their interest

* They were not, and could not be, as Alison asserts (II. 9), "freely given to all persons of known republican principles."

to do, so that vast sums of money were spent, especially by the court, in seeking to win their favor. But they ever constituted a most fickle, unreliable body, dangerous alike to their opponents and to those who attempted to control them.

The galleries assigned to the women in the Jacobin Club had a peculiar interest and influence. "Here could generally be seen in the front ranks the heroines of the *Halles* and the public squares, who had won their first blood-stained laurels at Versailles on the 5th and 6th of October, and who, since that terrible triumph of moral degradation, had raised themselves to a real revolutionary power, which became the more difficult to control the more people coquetted with it and attempted to use it for their own purposes." Among these heroines there always appeared in the front rank "that peasant-girl from Liège, with her already somewhat faded charms, whom the storm of the Revolution had suddenly transformed into an Amazon and heroine of virtue." Anna Joseph Théroigne, or, as she was commonly called, Théroigne de Méricourt, "la Belle Liégeoise," was of a family of opulent cultivators, and was born at Méricourt, near Liège, in 1759, so that she was no longer young when she came to Paris, in 1789. Her remarkable beauty had at an early age attracted the notice of a young nobleman of the vicinity, by whom she was seduced and abandoned. Forced from her quiet home into the great world, she went first to England, where her personal charms gained for her a luxurious, though not very reputable, support from some members of the nobility; but shortly before the breaking out of the Revolution she came to Paris, and there formed influential connections with many distinguished members of the National Assembly, and others, chiefly, it is said, through letters of introduction from the Duke of Orleans, whom she had met at the house of the Prince of Wales. Mirabeau, who was never proof against the lure of female beauty, was attracted by her for a time, but the Abbé Sièyes was "her particular divinity," and it was to his talents and virtues that she publicly offered her homage. Chénier, the younger of the poet brothers, Pétion, and others, were also her friends, and they soon wrought her up to a state of the greatest exaltation, filling her head with republican platitudes.

Erelong her ardent mind seems to have become tired of the routine of sensual pleasures, and she threw herself without reserve into the storms and passions of the Revolution. Suddenly she became a model of republican virtue; and, as Beaulieu expresses it, "the most innocent gallantry makes her frown, and the voluptuous Cyprian is suddenly metamorphosed into a grave and severe Minerva." Soon she was seen in every public place, dressed in Amazon costume, selected not without some traces of female coquetry. She wore a short cloth coat, a hat and feather *à la Henri Quatre*, a sword at her side, and two pistols in her girdle, and carried in her hand a riding-whip, on which was said to be—though this was, probably, only a slander of her enemies—a smelling-bottle *pour neutraliser l'odeur du peuple*. Her peculiar dress and manner struck the common people, and gave her at once a great influence over them, so that wherever she appeared she was most enthusiastically received, and treated as a being from a higher sphere. She was personally courageous in the extreme, and understood how to work upon the imagination of the populace by a sort of natural eloquence, which she garnished with a variety of political catchwords that she had picked up. She was ever active in all the revolutionary movements. On October 5th, she rode beside "Jourdan Coup-Tête," at the head of the hideous procession which brought the king captive to Paris, and she was prominent at the plundering of the Hotel des Invalides, and at the storming of the Bastille. In the morning she could be found among the people in the public squares, or at a favorite *café*; in the afternoon, in the National Assembly; and in the evening, at the Jacobin Club. "Here she had almost unlimited sway; a glance, a motion of her whip, a word from her in a decisive moment, could electrify the masses to enthusiasm, or, in the midst of a tumult, conjure them into silence again. The applause and disapprobation of the public rested with her, a fact of which the party leaders were well aware, and they did not fail to pay her court, to humor her conceits, and to avail themselves of her influence. Very respectable people did not consider that they were degrading themselves by personally lavishing praises upon her in her house, where, after the labors and heats of the

day were over, she was accustomed to gather about her a sort of small club." One day, early in 1790, she presented herself at the assembly of the District of the Cordeliers, and demanded permission to speak, which was accorded amid great applause, and cries of "Here comes the Queen of Sheba to visit the Solomons of the district"; and, seizing upon these cries, she began, "Yes, the fame of your wisdom has brought me to your midst. Prove now that you are truly Solomons, — that it is reserved for you to build the temple, — and hasten to build a temple for the National Assembly; that is the subject of my speech." She then went on to develop her plan for the erection of a magnificent hall for the Assembly, upon the ground once occupied by the Bastille. "The ground of the Bastille is vacant," said she; "a hundred thousand workmen are in want of bread. Why do we delay? Let a subscription be opened at once, to build a palace for the National Assembly upon the site of the Bastille. All France will hasten to support you; she waits only for the signal. Call together the most celebrated artists, open a competition among the architects; cut down the cedars of Lebanon, the oaks of Mount Ida. Yes, if ever the stones move of themselves, it must be to build, not the walls of Thebes, but the Temple of Freedom." Thus, with a mass of Scriptural and classical allusions not inaptly applied, she unfolded at great length her idea of what the building should be. Her proposal was received with much applause; but when Théroigne demanded to be allowed a place and a vote in the district assembly, this was refused, the president declaring that this excellent *citoyenne* deserved the thanks of the assembly, and that, as a canon of the Council of Mâcon had declared that women possessed souls and understandings like men, they could not be denied the right to make as good a use of them as the speaker had done; that she, and all of her sex, could make whatever proposals they considered advantageous for the state; but as for the admission of Mademoiselle de Théroigne to the assembly with a vote, that was out of order, and could not be a subject of deliberation.

Such greatness as hers is always transient, and especially so in revolutionary periods. Her friends soon began to find

her troublesome, and, under some pretext or other, they sent her on a mission to Belgium, where she was taken prisoner by the Austrians, and set free only after a personal interview with the Emperor Leopold, at Vienna. Early in 1792 she again appeared at Paris, and on February 1st presented herself before the Jacobin Club in full Amazon costume, and, by permission, gave an account of her imprisonment and adventures, winding up with the announcement of her willingness to publish her "Memoirs," "which could not fail to be of great interest to the numerous enemies of aristocracy and despotism." The president was disposed to get rid of her with a brief answer; but the more gallant Manuel said: "There was a time when a society of men propounded the question whether women have souls. If our fathers had so bad an opinion of women, it was because they were not free. Freedom would have shown them, as it has us, that it is as easy for nature to create a Porcia as a Scævola. You have just heard one of the first Amazons of freedom. I propose that, as president of her sex, she receive the honors of the meeting, and take a seat by the side of the president." But her power was in a great measure gone, and she seems to have soon sunk down to a level with the most depraved of the heroines of the Revolution, and to have stained her name with the most frightful crimes. On the 10th of October she was among the first to commence the terrible cruelties of that day. She seized a young royalist writer, who in the hour of misfortune had supported the falling cause, and delivered him to the assassins by whom she was surrounded, who instantly cut off his head, and paraded it on a pike through the streets. She seems even to have shared in the dreadful cannibalism of that day. On the division of the Jacobins into Jacobins proper and Girondists, she attached herself to the party of the latter with great zeal; and one day in April, 1793, she made a public announcement that she had "determined henceforth to withdraw her esteem from Robespierre and Collot d'Herbois," a misfortune which Robespierre did not fail to announce to the Jacobin Club, amid roars of laughter, which so enraged the heroine, who happened to be in one of the galleries, that she sprang over the barrier

into the hall, and, before any one could stop her, made her way, whip in hand, with terrible gestures and threats, to the president's desk, where she essayed to speak. But she was at once, in spite of all her opposition, thrust out of the hall, in the most ungallant manner. It was her attachment to the Girondists which finally caused her withdrawal from public life; for having ventured one day in May, 1793, to defend Brissot in public at an inopportune moment, she was attacked in the garden of the Tuileries by a crowd of excited women, who stripped her naked, and publicly flogged her. Such a humiliation was too great for her vanity to bear; she lost her reason, and, after living for twenty years or more in a mad-house, entirely deranged, almost always in a state of nudity, and declaiming alternately bloody diatribes and outpourings of obscenity, she died on May 9, 1817, in the great asylum of the Salpêtrière, at Paris. Beaulieu, speaking of her near the close of her public career, says that "she had absolutely lost all her charms, and was lean, livid, and pimpled; in short, Théroigne was the walking image of the Revolution." Lamartine calls her "the impure Joan of Arc of the public square." In his account of her subsequent meeting with her seducer at Paris, he probably, like Sheridan's opponent, is "indebted to his imagination for his facts." It would be charitable to Théroigne de Méricourt and to her sex to suppose that the cruelties which marked the latter part of her revolutionary career were committed under the influence of that insanity which afterwards developed itself more decidedly. But alas! there were too many of her sex who without her charms and her eloquence imitated her in her crimes.

A scarcely less conspicuous character was Rose Lacombe, who was ever prominent at the Jacobin Club and elsewhere. She had been an actress of some repute, but had abandoned the stage to play a part upon the great theatre of the Revolution, and by her youth and beauty, as well as by her singular conduct and her remarkable courage, she contrived to gain great power over the masses. Not satisfied with the existing field for her activity, she became the founder of those female clubs, which, however much they were ridiculed by the leaders of the Revolution, still continued to exist for a long period,

at one time contained six thousand members, and were even an object of jealousy and alarm to the Jacobins. We shall return to them in a moment, but desire first to add a few words more concerning the galleries for women at the Jacobin Club. It was of course no more than natural that the occupants of these galleries should come to consist exclusively of the lower classes, of the "*furies de la guillotine*," the "*tricoteuses de Robespierre*,"* but at first this was by no means the case; and ladies from the upper classes, who it is well known were great politicians, often appeared in them. Indeed, one of the most extraordinary phenomena of the French Revolution is the manner in which it was at first countenanced by the upper classes, and especially by the gentler sex. It was the fashion to favor the Revolution, and more than once were heard, from the mouths of those who afterwards died beneath the knife of the guillotine, the words, "What a nice thing a revolution is!" But with this feeling female vanity, and even love, had much to do. As Ferrières says, with some bitterness, "What a triumph for their *amour propre* to decide in a discussion, to animate by a gesture, by a glance, a patriot speaking from the tribune the burning words of liberty! And then was it nothing to go and come, to have at one's house mysterious conferences, to discuss there the great interests of twenty-four millions of men who were being regenerated, to intrigue at Paris, to talk about a constitution, to assert how they hated despotism and its agents?" With the prevalence of such a feeling as these words indicate, it could hardly be otherwise than that the female politicians should become frequent visitors of the Jacobin Club, and that for a time court ladies should be seen sitting side by side with women of the *halles*. That this, however, did not and could not last, we have already said.

And now to return to the subject of the female clubs. After the first novelty of the Revolution had passed away, the part played by the women seems to have been for a time compara-

* The origin of this peculiar designation is somewhat singular. It was bestowed in consequence of the comical manner in which Chaumette closed a decree of the Communes, which allowed the "*citoyennes patriotiques*" of the 5th and 6th of October to appear on all political festivals, and to have an honorable place assigned to their standard. "The council orders," said the decree, "that they be present with their husbands and children, and *that they knit*" (*qu'elles tricoteront*).

tively insignificant; and it was not till about the close of the year 1792, or the beginning of 1793, that the women of Paris began again to assume a peculiar political importance. It was at this period particularly that the revolutionary leaders availed themselves of their services. Thus it is asserted that Robespierre owed his victory over the Girondists in the Convention, on the 5th of November, to the assistance of the women in the galleries, who composed eight hundred of the one thousand spectators, and the Girondist "Chronique de Paris" gave vent to its displeasure on that occasion as follows:—"It is sometimes asked why there are so many women in the train of Robespierre, at his house, in the galleries of the Jacobins, at the Cordeliers, in the Convention. It is because the French Revolution is a religion, of which Robespierre is forming a sect; he is a priest, who has his female devotees, for it is clear that his power is entirely with the women and the distaffs." It was quite natural that, as soon as these Amazons began again to feel their power, they should become exacting, overbearing, and troublesome, even to those who sought to use them. Thus, at the meeting of the Jacobin Club on December 27, one of these heroines of the *halles* appeared at the bar, and demanded the dissolution of the Convention, which had hitherto, she asserted, only disappointed the expectations of the Jacobins. The only way they could devise to get rid of her was to declare, with more decision than gallantry, that her proposition was a device of the Girondists, after which she was unceremoniously thrust from the hall. This by no means uncommon incident will give some idea of the part played by these women. In the words of Mr. Zinkeisen, "the time now really seemed to have arrived in which the dogma asserted by the political enthusiast, Olympe de Gouges, in her 'Declaration of the Rights of Women,' presented to Marie Antoinette as early as 1789, was to become an established truth,—'Woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she ought equally to have the right of mounting the rostrum.'"

Not satisfied with ruling in the galleries of the Jacobin Club and the Convention, these "enlightened females" now desired clubs of their own. For some years women had belonged to the *Sociétés Fraternelles des Deux Sexes*, clubs of a low class,

and without any great political importance; but the first formally organized club to which women alone were admitted dates from May, 1793, when it was founded, probably under the direct influence of the Jacobins. It assumed the name of *Société Républicaine Révolutionnaire*, and declared its object to be "to take counsel as to the means by which the plans of the enemies of the republic could be thwarted." As we have already said, Rose Lacombe was the founder and president of this club, which held its meetings in the library of the Jacobin Convent. It seems to have lost no time in commencing its political activity, for on May 12 a deputation of these women appeared in the Jacobin Club, and reported that they had issued an address to the *citoyennes des sections*, urging them to incite their husbands to take up arms and then themselves to form battalions of Amazons, and, above all, to join the infant society; "for," said the speaker, turning towards the women in the galleries, "it is not enough to be continually listening to speeches; you must take a more active part in the Revolution." The valor and ardor of these Amazons increased day by day, and a fortnight later another deputation presented itself in the Jacobin Club, to demand that a place should be assigned where they could assemble to fight the enemies of their country. "It is time," said their leader, "that you should see in us no longer mere slavish women, mere house-animals. It is time that we should show ourselves worthy of the glorious cause which you defend. If it is the aim of the aristocracy to depopulate Paris by murdering us one by one, then it is time for us to step forward. We will not await their daggers in our beds, but we will form a phalanx and consign the aristocracy to their original nothingness. The suburbs where we have been are in the best of dispositions. We have sounded the alarm-bell of freedom in every heart. We will support your zeal and share your dangers. Only show us the place where our presence is needed." The president replied with much non-committal tact, and, while intimating that their presence was not needed in the Jacobin Club, declared his inability to indicate a place where it was needed, inasmuch as the dangers of the country were everywhere.

For some reason or other, these female clubs seem never

to have attained any very permanent success. The Jacobins were jealous and afraid of them, and, moreover, female weaknesses mingled themselves only too soon with the political enthusiasm which they displayed; in other words, these Amazons, who were so desirous to expose their hearts to the daggers of their country's enemies, were not proof against the weapons of Cupid, and the God of Love, with his proverbial perverseness, sent his darts from precisely the wrong quarter. Many of these heroines fell in love with persons imprisoned as "suspected." Rose Lacombe went so far as to demand from the Jacobins the immediate release of her beloved, and to threaten them in case of refusal with the direst revenge of the "revolutionary women." Inasmuch as, upon inquiry, it was found that Rose had several such persons under her protection, it seems to have been considered best not to yield to her demand, and Chabot seized the occasion to make a violent attack upon these "pretended revolutionary women." "I am well aware," said he, "what a person brings upon himself if he excites only *one* woman against him. How much worse, then, when he is concerned with a great number of them! But I neither fear their intrigues, nor their empty words, nor their threats." He then went on to relate how Rose Lacombe had sought, with various aristocratic expressions, to procure from the Committee of Safety the release of her *protégé*. Madame Lacombe — for she was no longer a *citoyenne* — had even dared to call Robespierre "Monsieur Robespierre." He therefore demanded that severe measures should be adopted to guard against the measures of these women. "I also," interrupted Bazire, "weak as you see me, have had to do with these revolutionary women." Not less than seven had attacked him at once, seeking to procure the release of one of their favorites; and they had even carried their impudence so far as to demand for their whole society permission to visit the prisons, for the sole purpose of ascertaining the causes of arrest of the prisoners, and of procuring their release if they saw fit. "I most humbly regret that I have not beard enough to please these ladies," continued Bazire, "but such as I am, I declared to them I could not yield to their august demands." He was also of the opinion that a purging of the female clubs

by the expulsion of those who had corrupted their spirit was necessary. But while the matter was still under discussion Rose Lacombe appeared in one of the galleries to defend herself and her companions. Her appearance caused the greatest confusion, so that she was not allowed to speak, and the president was obliged to "cover himself" to restore order. It was therefore resolved to demand a purification of the club to which these women belonged by the exclusion of "suspicious women," and to urge the Committee of Safety to arrest such women. A proposal to arrest Rose Lacombe at once was dropped only because it was out of order.

About the same time the Communes adopted severe measures against the "*jolies sollicitieuses*," as they were called. According to complaints from various quarters, they besieged the police-bureaus that had charge of the prisons in the most indecent manner, in order to procure the release of certain prisoners; and it would seem, too, not without success, for when some one undertook to defend them by urging that they accomplished nothing, Hebert, then the attorney-general of the Communes, replied, that, "even if one were a Cato, he must still fear these Circes, for they possess the art of winning the men." It was therefore resolved that the "*jolies intrigantes*" should no longer be admitted to the police-bureaus, and that, in order to avoid trouble, all women without exception should wear the tricolored cockade, which had been already adopted by the "revolutionary women"; and by a resolve of the Convention, passed September 21, every woman who failed to do this was punished for the first offence with a week's imprisonment, and, in case of repetition, with imprisonment till after the restoration of peace. The *Républicaines Révolutionnaires* then adopted, together with the cockade, the red cap; but an attempt to force it upon the women of the *halles* led to a fight, in consequence of which the Convention resolved that thenceforth every one should dress as he or she chose. Encouraged, it would seem, by this success, the women of the *halles* went a step further, and by petition demanded the immediate closing of the female clubs; for, said they, "it was a woman (Marie Antoinette) who brought all these misfortunes upon France." On this occasion the Jacobin Amar was prominent

as an opponent of the political activity of women. Some passages of his speech are very well adapted to the present day. "Ought women," he asks, "to exercise political rights, and mingle in the affairs of government? Public opinion is against the idea. Ought women to unite in political societies? Ought they, who are fitted to soften the strong passions of men, to take an active part in proceedings, the excitement of which is inconsistent with that gentleness and moderation which form the peculiar charms of the sex? Moreover, women, by their very organization, are inclined to an exaltation which is dangerous in public affairs, and through them the interests of the state would soon be sacrificed to all the delusions and disorders of excited passions. Involved in the heats of public debates, they would not instil into their children love of country, but rather hatred and prejudice." Only a single deputy was gallant enough to defend the women. On October 30, the Convention ordered the closing of all clubs for women; and when, a week later, a deputation appeared to demand the repeal of the decree, they were unceremoniously thrust from the hall. From that time forward their political activity was necessarily confined to the galleries and the public squares, where, under the name of *furies de la guillotine* and *tricoteuses de Robespierre*, they formed one of the most dangerous and disgusting elements of revolutionary agitation. Their activity manifested itself in constant tumults and miniature insurrections, got up on the slightest pretence. Thus on one occasion a crowd of "citizen washerwomen" rushed into the Convention, to complain that soap was so dear that soon no one would be able to wear clean clothes; and this not because it was scarce, but because it had been bought up by monopolists, against whom they demanded immediate vengeance. "You have," closed the petition, "caused the head of the tyrant (Louis XVI.) to fall beneath the sword of the law; let that same sword of the law fall upon the heads of these public bloodsuckers. We demand the punishment of death for forestallers and monopolists." The reply of the president had so little effect, that the next day saw the famous disorders of February 25, 1793.

Before we leave this subject, we will add an extract from a

curious prayer, headed "Prayer of the Amazons to Bellona," which dates from the year 1792. "And we also know how to fight and to conquer; we know how to handle other arms than the needle and the spindle. O Bellona! companion of Mars, influenced by thy example, ought not all women to march side by side with the men? Goddess of power, take courage! At least thou wilt not have to blush for the women of France."*

In our desire to follow out what seems to us one of the most extraordinary phenomena of the French Revolution, we have wandered away somewhat from the Jacobin Club. The fame of the Club could not long be confined to Paris; and, within a month after the transfer of the Club Breton to the capital, deputies arrived from many of the provinces, who were presented to the Club, and expressed a desire to establish in the principal provincial towns similar societies, which should maintain a close connection with the mother society at Paris, by constant correspondence. The idea of thus making the mother society the central point for a whole family of similar associations, which should be gradually extended over all France, found great favor both in Paris and in the

* Since writing the above, we have received a new work by Michelet, entitled "The Women of the French Revolution," which was published in Paris last year, and has now been given to the American public by H. C. Baird, in a translation by a lady in Philadelphia. As its name imports, it presents a gallery of portraits of the women of the French Revolution, drawn, with additions, from the author's History of the Revolution. Like all of Michelet's books, it is interesting, but it is, on the whole, very unsatisfactory; its table of contents promises much, which a perusal of its pages does not fulfil. Still, as we have said, it is interesting, and it will afford to many a knowledge which they will be glad to gain so easily and so agreeably, while it will perhaps stimulate a few to examine more closely into the remarkable passage in the history of the female sex which the French Revolution presents. The ordinary reader, however, will be more likely to rise from its perusal with the feelings that Michelet is an ardent friend of liberty, and a great admirer of woman and woman's influence, — that, in popular phraseology, he is a "woman's rights man," — than with any very distinct impressions of the personages who have passed in array before him. What a difference do these off-hand, dashy, outline sketches of Michelet present, from the painfully precise delineations of some of the women of an earlier period in French history, drawn in Cousin's "Madame de Longueville," and "Madame de Sablé"! The translation of Michelet's book is quite good, with occasional awkward expressions, and some French idioms unrendered. Still, as a whole, the version hardly does justice to the somewhat peculiar style of the author, — a task, indeed, which would require very unusual ability in the translator.

provinces, and was carried into execution with extraordinary rapidity. The system was originally digested and arranged by Adrien Duport, one of the "triumvirate," who possessed a rare talent for organization. The oldest list of the *sociétés affiliées*, as they were called, dates from November, 1790, and contains the names of but 121 places where they had been organized, though there is reason to suppose that as many as 152 societies actually existed at that time. This, however, was only a beginning. At the period of the separation of the Feuillans, in July, 1791, the number of affiliated societies was 400, and was soon increased to 1,000, which seems to have been the highest number attained; for in April, 1792, 760 only are enumerated, of which not more than 400 kept up a regular correspondence with the mother club. But all the societies formed in the provinces, on the model of the Jacobin Club, did not become affiliated with it. Many remained independent, "and soon there was hardly a village in all France which had not a sort of Jacobin Club of its own, and many a schoolmaster — for it was commonly they who presided over and gave a tone to the society — considered himself man enough to play the *rôle* of a Danton or a Robespierre on a small scale." We hardly need to add, that the affiliated societies became the most valuable sources of power to the Jacobin Club; and that, extending like a net-work over the whole country, they gave to it a terrible, and frequently an irresistible force, and, in critical moments, more than once turned the scale in its favor.

Thus much for the inner organization and mode of action of the Jacobin Club. Its effects are so well known, that, instead of dwelling even for a moment upon them, we prefer to turn to one or two of the most striking passages in the history of the Club. But before doing this, a word should be said as to the direct connection of the Club with the press.

The first journal with which it had any official connection appeared on November 30, 1790, under the name of "Journal des Amis de la Constitution." Every number had at its head the resolve authorizing the publication of the correspondence of the "Friends of the Constitution," and also the seal of the Club, which was an oaken garland, with a lily at the end

where it was intertwined. In the middle of the garland were the words, *Vivre libre ou mourir*, and around the outside, *Société des Amis de la Constitution, Paris, 1789*. The form of the paper was octavo, and the subscription price was twenty-four livres per annum. Besides the correspondence, it contained various articles, extracts from speeches made in the Club, and sundry small items of news. The journal of the proceedings of the Club was not contained in it. It was published every Tuesday, in three sheets. A complete copy is not now known to exist. It was originally quite moderate in its tone, but it of course changed as the reigning tone of the Club itself changed. It became one of the most important levers of the Club in the provinces, and led to a great increase in the number of the affiliated societies, and a more active correspondence with those previously established. On the separation of the Feuillans, they took with them this paper, so that the Jacobins were obliged to establish another, which they did on June 1, 1791, under the title "Journal des Débats [after No. 121 "et la Correspondance" was added] de la Société des Amis de la Constitution séante aux Jacobins," which name it retained till the Club took the name of *Société des Amis de la Liberté et de l'Egalité*. This paper contained a report of the proceedings of the Club, as well as other matters, and was published four times a week, at twelve livres for Paris, and seventeen for the provinces.

There is at the present day, in view of the events of the last quarter of a century, no more interesting passage in the history of the Jacobin Club, than that in which is comprised the connection with it of Louis Philippe. It was one of the earliest, as well as one of the most striking periods of his eventful life, though it has become known, at least in its details, only of late years, and is not referred to in many histories of the French Revolution; but the account is founded upon his own journal, kept at the period, the genuineness of which has never, we believe, been impeached.* It was on November 1,

* This was published in Paris in 1831, under the title "Un An de la Vie de Louis Philippe I., écrit par lui-même, ou Journal authentique du Duc de Chartres, 1790-1791." Its genuineness is well established in the preface, and is, moreover, supported by many passages in the Memoirs of Madame de Genlis; and, above all,

1790, that the young Duc de Chartres, afterwards Louis Philippe I., King of the French, became a member of the Jacobin Club, having been proposed and elected at the close of the preceding month. The young prince, talented, ardent, and easily attracted by anything novel, influenced by his intercourse with deputies of the Orleanist party, and more especially by his vain and somewhat inconsiderate governess, Madame de Genlis, early espoused the ideas of the Revolution with enthusiasm, and ardently desired to see them put into practice. "The Duc de Chartres," said his governess one day, "says that he loves nothing in the world more than the new Constitution and Madame de Genlis." On February 9, in accordance with the decree of the Assembly ordering the taking of the oath of fidelity to the Constitution, he appeared in his district, dressed in the uniform of the National Guards, and accompanied by his two younger brothers, the Dukes of Montpensier and Beaujolais. He there found his titles as a royal prince written against his name in the register prepared for that purpose; but he at once struck them out, and wrote instead, *citoyen de Paris*. Even before this time he had been a candidate for the command of a battalion of the National Guards in the district of St. Roch, but had been beaten by a master-butcher; though, as a sort of recompense, he was appointed *capitaine d'honneur*. His mother earnestly opposed his joining the Jacobin Club on account of his age, which was only seventeen years; but she was overpowered by her husband and Madame de Genlis, and, as we have said, he became a member on the 1st of November, 1790. The occasion was regarded as one of triumph for the Club, and he was received amid great applause, for which he thanked the members briefly by saying: "Gentlemen, for a long time I have had an eager wish to be received into your midst; the favorable reception which you grant me moves me deeply, but I venture to flatter myself that my conduct will justify your

it bears internal proofs of its own authenticity. It contains a mass of interesting information, but has already become very rare, and has been little, if at all, used by English historians. Dr. Birch, in his *Life of Louis Philippe*, published in the third edition at Stuttgart, in 1851, assumes that it is genuine beyond dispute, and we are not aware that this has ever been seriously denied.

approbation, and I can assure you that through my whole life I shall be a good patriot and a good citizen." The new member became a constant attendant at the meetings of the Club, and we have already mentioned incidentally that he held one or two offices in it. He was, moreover, once on a committee to examine the vaults under the hall, to see if there was any truth in some rumors of the existence of a sort of Guy Fawkes gunpowder plot. He spoke not infrequently, and on one occasion was commissioned by the Club to translate a reply of one Joseph Tower to Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution." This task he at once readily undertook, but his father interfered, and obliged him to abandon it. The Club, however, insisted, and the Duke made the translation, while the name of another was given to it. He was also a constant visitor of the National Assembly, where he took notes of the debates, in which he manifested great interest. On one occasion he exhibited his pleasure at some remarks of a leading Jacobin in such an emphatic manner, that two deputies demanded his immediate expulsion from the hall; but the president shrugged his shoulders, and the Duke quietly took out his opera-glass, and examined the two deputies from head to toe, in spite of the cries of "*A bas la lorgnette.*" About this time he also published several articles anonymously, in the "Chronique de Paris." The Assembly having ordered all colonels to join their regiments, he left Paris on June 14, 1791, and two days later he visited the affiliated Jacobin society at Vendôme, where his regiment was stationed. He was received with great applause, but declined a seat of honor by the side of the president, and took one among some sub-officers and soldiers of his own regiment. Three days later he was chosen president *pro tempore*, but his military duties did not allow him to attend constantly. Once, on August 4, he made a speech upon the decree abolishing all tokens of rank, "these trivial marks of distinction," as he termed them; but having been ordered to Valenciennes, he took leave of the club at Vendôme a week later, and seems thus to have finally closed his active connection with the Jacobins as a club. Can it be claimed that he was in his subsequent career ever true to his promise to them, to be "through life a good patriot and a good citizen?"

We should hardly expect to find the Jacobins the bitter opponents of duelling; yet such they were, in theory at least, though the reasons they gave for their opposition are rather amusing. As early as 1790 they denounced this disgraceful practice in good set terms, stigmatizing it as "an aristocratic vice," — "a still remaining root of the tree of feudalism." But we are bound to add, that their practice did not always conform to their theory, for we find the public attention much excited by a duel between Barnave and Cazalés, caused by a violent dispute in the Assembly on August 10, on which day, as Camille Desmoulins says, "the Blacks* were as much beside themselves as if an exorcist had poured a basin of holy water on the head of a devil, without a wig." And again, in November, Charles Lameth was wounded in a duel by the Duc de Castries, in return for which the mob sacked the house of the latter, and the Club published an address to the affiliated societies against the practice of duelling. We ought to mention that we find Camille Desmoulins indignantly declining a challenge.

A peculiar patriotic celebration made the 18th of December, 1791 a remarkable day in the history of the Club. On that day the national flags of England, the United States, and France, were unfurled together in the hall, "as symbols of the union of the free nations of the universe." The immediate occasion of this festival was the presence of a delegation from "the friends of the Revolution" in London. The *dames des halles* played an important part on this day, and in an address full of high-flown phrases they say: "May a cry of joy resound through all Europe, and fly over to America! Hark! Amid thousands of echoes the cry resounds in Philadelphia, as with us, *Vive la liberté!*" On which an enthusiastic Jacobin exclaimed, in words which will hardly gain him a prophet's immortality: "England, America, and France have forgotten their old divisions; these three sisters, hitherto separated through the common enemies of mankind [kings], now recognize one another; and, united by family interest, embrace and swear a faithful friendship. Neither

* A phrase applied at one time by the Jacobins to their opponents, especially to the Feuillans and Royalists.

the sickle of Time, nor the daggers of tyrants, will ever loosen the bonds which to-day unite them to one another." Amid the general enthusiasm, it was resolved to place in the hall, by the side of the bust of Mirabeau, the busts of "the other evangelists of peace, and apostles of freedom," Price, Benjamin Franklin, Rousseau, Algernon Sidney, and Mably. At a considerable later period, some time in August, 1792, Manuel presented himself at the Jacobin Club, with a bust of Brutus in his arms. "Here," said he, "the overthrow of royalty, the overthrow of Louis *the Last*, was prepared. And here must the image of him who first tried to deliver the earth from kings find a place. This is Brutus, who should recall to your memories every moment, that, in order to be good citizens, you must be always ready to sacrifice everything, even your children, for the good of your country." Amid universal applause Brutus was adopted as the patron of the Club, and it was resolved to urge the affiliated societies to give his bust an honorable place in their halls. But the Jacobins were fickle, and soon turned iconoclasts; for before the close of 1792 we find them assenting with great applause to Robespierre's assertion, that the busts of Brutus and Rousseau were alone worthy of a place in their hall; and those of Mirabeau, "the political charlatan," and of Helvetius, "the intriguer" and "immoral creature," were dashed in pieces. Whether Franklin and his companions shared the same fate, is not stated.

At various points in his book, Mr. Zinkeisen gives interesting information as to the origin of some of the most remarkable symbols of the Revolution. We quote the following:—

"On the 19th of February, 1792, people armed with pikes appeared for the first time in the Jacobin Club. The pike, the peculiar weapon of the Revolution, had fallen into disuse and been almost entirely forgotten since the terrible scenes of 1789, having been gradually supplanted by the gun of the National Guards; and it was only when the war question began to occupy every mind, that it was again sought out, and recommended by the advocates of an offensive war. As early as December, 1791, Brissot caused a picture of a pike, such as had been used in 1789, to be engraved in the 'Patriote Français' as a curiosity and model; and he accompanied it with directions for its use

and improvement. From that time, the cry for pikes became the order of the day in the journals of that party, and the manufacture of them was pursued with great activity as early as January, especially in the revolutionary suburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau. In the Jacobin Club pikes were first mentioned on February 7, when a smith laid four pikes of his manufacture on the table for approval, and a special committee was appointed for the purpose." — Vol. II. p. 170, et seq.

The question of pike or no pike soon became a party one; the Girondists, with Brissot as their leader, defending the weapon, while the Feuillans opposed it, as intended to be used against the National Guards. The discussion was animated and bitter. In the course of it, Brissot, being asked in one of the journals whether they would dare to direct the pikes against the Tuileries, quietly answered, in the "Patriote Français": "Yes, without doubt thither also, if the enemies of the people are there." It was during this discussion in the newspapers that men with pikes appeared in the Jacobin Club; and when it was objected that this was unlawful, it was resolved, "in order to conciliate principles and actions," that the pikes should be placed on both sides of the president, and that in future a pike should be hung with every flag in the hall, "as a sign of the union between the bayonet and the pike." Thus the pike, as the weapon of the people, became thenceforth the symbol of the Revolution, while the dagger was regarded as that of the counter-revolution.

"Nearly a month later, on March 14, another symbol of the Revolution, the famous red cap, appeared for the first time in the galleries of the Jacobin Club. The red cap was also a work of the Girondists, and owed the favorable reception which it soon found principally to an article of Brissot's, in the 'Patriote Français' for February 6, in which, supported by a similar view of an English philosopher named Pigot, he formally declared war upon hats. 'The priests and despots,' it was said in the reasoning borrowed from this English enemy of hats, 'are the ones who introduced the mournful uniform of hats, as well as the ridiculous and slavish ceremony of a salute, which debases man, inasmuch as it makes him bow his bared head submissively before his equal. Only regard the difference between the cap and the hat, with reference to the appearance which they impart to the head; the one, mournful, sombre, and uniform, is the emblem of sorrow and magisterial moroseness (*morosité magistrale*); the other brightens the counte-

nance, makes it more frank and open ; it covers the head without concealing, increases its natural dignity with grace, and admits of all sort of embellishment.' It was then historically proved that all 'great nations,' the Greeks, Romans, Gauls, had held the cap in peculiar honor, 'in order to distinguish themselves from the barbarian nations, as a sign of triumph over their tyrants'; and that, in more modern times, Voltaire and Rousseau had worn it 'as a symbol of freedom.' The red color was expressly recommended 'as the most cheerful.' Nothing more was needed to make the red cap at once the political fashion ; and by the middle of March it had been silently adopted as a custom, that the president and secretaries of the Jacobin Club, as well as the orators, while speaking, should wear the red cap. Still, many persons objected to it, but no one seems to have spoken out against it till March 19, — the very day on which Dumouriez, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, adorned with this 'emblem of freedom and equality,' expounded his political creed from the rostrum of the Jacobin Club, — when Pétion sent a letter to the Club upon the subject, giving his reasons for opposing the introduction of the red cap. They were, in brief, that it would come to be a mark of a Jacobin, and would be misused by their enemies to bring discredit upon them ; and, moreover, the time was past when the people would be satisfied with the mere outward signs of liberty ; they wanted liberty itself. The reading of this letter produced a great and probably unexpected effect. Before it was finished, the president had quietly slipped his cap into his pocket, the secretaries had followed his example, and the red cap had entirely disappeared from the hall. Robespierre, in a few words, supported the views of Pétion, calling upon his hearers to return to the tricolored cockade as their only symbol ; and thus, after a brief existence of five days, — for Grangeneuve, the Girondist, had first worn it in the Club on March 14, — was the red cap banished from its hall. Still, though Pétion and Robespierre could exclude it from the Jacobin Club, they could not prevent its continued use by the people ; for the Girondists continued to uphold it, till the insurrection of June 20 made it the emblem of the victory of republicanism over monarchy. We must add, that the real origin of the red cap has never been clearly explained ; and opinions were very much divided upon the subject at the time. A quite generally received opinion was, that it first came into use after the release from the galleys of the Swiss soldiers of the regiment of Chateau-Vieux.* It is well known that the galley-slaves wore

* Confined for mutiny, and afterwards released in triumph by the Jacobins, and treated as martyrs of liberty.

such caps, which suddenly became the symbols of freedom on the release of those soldiers.* Concerning the red color, it should be remarked that it was then by no means the color of the democratic republic and the symbol of freedom. On the contrary, it was regarded as that of despotism and oppression, and especially had it acquired a bad reputation among patriots through 'the red book,' and the red flag as the instrument of martial law. The 'red republic,' 'red apparitions,' and other red things and nothings, are of much later invention."—Vol. II. p. 174, et seq.

While upon this subject we may refer to one other red thing, the red flag. On July 26, 1792, an attempt was made to excite an insurrection; but it failed, and is noteworthy solely because that occasion transformed the red flag, previously the symbol only of oppression and martial law, into the symbol and standard of revolution and insurrection. Carra claims the merit of this metamorphosis, which in its way has made a noise in the world. He caused a red banner to be prepared, and placed upon it the inscription, "Martial law of the sovereign people against the rebellion of the executive power." It was then handed over to the insurrection committee, and from that time forward it everywhere appears as the standard of Jacobinism at the head of insurrections and rebellions.

The name of Louis Capet, by which the Jacobins insisted upon calling Louis XVI., is familiar to every one. Our author states that Dandré first made use of it near the close of the Constitutional Assembly, when speaking of the abolition of the names of Artois, Condé, and others. Antonelle then brought the matter up in the Jacobin Club. "They attempt to show us," said he, "that Louis XVI. has no more right to be called Bourbon than Capet; but, as he must be designated in some manner or other, let us call him Capet." This was adopted amid great laughter, and the name was always afterwards used in speaking of its unfortunate object. Brissot was the originator of another expression still in con-

* Considering the knowledge of antiquity displayed by the leaders of the Revolution, it seems to us quite probable that their cap of liberty was derived from the Phrygian cap. The Romans sometimes pictured *Libertas* with this cap. See Smith's Dict. Greek and Roman Mythology, Art. *Libertas*.

stant use on the continent of Europe, the term *Montagne*, "Mountain," applied to the extreme radicals, "the Left." He first used it one day in the Constitutional Assembly, contrasting them with the aristocrats, the *Modérés*. "Enfants de la Montagne," exclaimed he, "close up your ranks." This term "Mountain," as applied especially to the Jacobins, led Garnier to draw a rather peculiar parallel from Scripture. Speaking of his companions one day in the Club, he exclaimed: "The legislative body has a mountain. As Moses brought his laws down from a mountain, so shall the 'Mountain' of the Convention give laws to France."

The Revolution was very fertile in lampoons, and in doggerel dignified by the name of poetry. The following, which appeared about Condorcet in a royalist journal at the time when he became commissioner of the treasury, will give some idea of the style of these productions:—

"Jadis, mathématicien,
Marquis, académicien,
Sous d'Alembert, panégyriste,
Sous Panckoucke, encyclopédiste,
Puis, sous Turgot, économiste,
Puis, sous Brissot, républiciste,
Puis, du trésor gardien,
Puis, citoyen soldat, — puis, rien."

Our author mentions (Vol. I. p. 17) the curious fact, that in "A Political and Satirical History of the Years 1756 and 1757," published in London by E. Morris, there is to be found a sketch of a guillotine, in which a devil is represented—somewhat prophetically, it would seem—as the presiding genius of the instrument. As the invention of this famous instrument of death is commonly ascribed to Dr. Guillotine, from whom it takes its name, and is dated from a later period, this is historically of interest, as showing that he was not its inventor, but merely adopted the idea from some other source.

No one can have read with any care the minute details of the French Revolution without being struck at once with the wit to which it gave birth, and with the number and appropriateness of the classical and Scriptural allusions with which

the speeches and pamphlets of the period abound. Many of these have become quite familiar, but we have marked in the work before us a few which we do not remember to have seen elsewhere. Speaking of the Duc d'Aiguillon, whose name is affixed to the first declaration of principles issued by the Jacobin Club, Mr. Zinkeisen observes that he was the son of the general and minister of the same name, who, on occasion of the landing of the English in Brittany, where he was in command, ignominiously hid himself in a mill, a fact which led the witty La Chalotais to remark, that "the commandant had covered himself, not with glory, but with meal." Mallet du Pan, it is well known, was bitterly hated by the Jacobins, in consequence of the devotion of his great talents to the cause of the king. This hatred led Camille Desmoulins, perhaps the wittiest of the leaders of the Revolution, to speak of him as "Mallet du Pan, qui s'il n'y prend garde sera bientôt Mallet-pendu." Pétion, while Mayor of Paris, and pretending to provide for the good order of the city, took care never to present any effectual opposition to the populace, who at the instigation of his friends, the Jacobins, repeatedly attacked the Feuillans. He usually managed to arrive quite breathless just after all the harm was done, which leads our author to apply to him the remark of Madame de Stael concerning one of his predecessors, Bailly: "The Mayor is like a rainbow, which only shows itself after the storm." Chabot was the object of violent attack, because he had, contrary to law, married a foreigner, a rich Austrian lady. One of his opponents took a very practical view of the matter. "A wife," said he, "is an article of dress. If Chabot wanted one, he should have remembered that the nation has forbidden foreign goods." We have already incidentally mentioned two or three instances of classical and Scriptural allusions, and will add only a couple of classical quotations. At the time when the question of issuing *assignats* was under discussion, Peltier headed an article against it with the following motto:—

"Quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca,
Tantum habet et fidei."

At the time when the contest between the Jacobins and Gi-

rondists was at its height, Brissot commenced an article against the latter with the following passage from Sallust: "Qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavêre? Homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissimi; quîs fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta, omnia questui sunt. . . . Quos omnes eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coegit. Sed hæc inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est. Quod si tam vos libertatis curam habetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt, profecto neque respublica, sicut nunc, vastaretur."

And now, before we leave the subject of the Jacobin Club, we will briefly sketch its history so far as we have not already given it. The first declaration of its principles was published on February 8, 1790. It is a document of some length, which had escaped the research of every previous historian, but is given in full by Mr. Zinkeisen. We do not propose to attempt any abstract of its contents, but only to remark, that it cannot be too often called to mind that the Jacobins, though always constituting the progressive party, — *La Jeune France*, it would be called now-a-days, — yet, during their earlier history, entertained opinions which were very moderate in comparison with their later creed; that they even inculcated "respect for and submission to the powers which the Constitution may call into being," and that, though there were from the outset a few very radical persons among them, the development of their principles was gradual. They did not, as some writers seem to imagine, spring into existence monsters of vice and cruelty. Upon every subject they had fixed and decided opinions, and it was ordinarily their union and decision which gave them the victory over their opponents, who were always wavering and undecided. Of the various clubs formed to oppose them, the first was that of the *Impartiaux*, founded early in 1790. It ceased to exist before the end of April of that year, and about the same time the *Société des Amis du Peuple* sprang into existence, only to die two months later, after having at one time assumed quite formidable proportions. But even before this, a division had become manifest within the Jacobin Club itself; and as the breach gradually widened, in May, 1790, the *Société Patriotique de 1789* was founded

by seceding Jacobins. Representing, as it sought to do, the moderate constitutional party, it embraced among its members many influential persons, and for a time was a formidable opponent of the Jacobins. Its power, however, was transient, and it finally became remarkable only for the excellence of its cookery; for, unlike the other clubs, it was established a good deal on the plan of an English club of the present day. Towards the end of the year 1790, the *Société des Amis de la Constitution Monarchique* was founded, and became so formidable in numbers and influence that the Jacobins resorted to the plan of exciting the populace against it in order to destroy it, and were so successful, that, after various disorders, it was closed by the police, March 29, 1791. Contemporary with it was the *Confédération Générale des Amis de la Vérité*, more generally known as the *Cercle Social*, a sort of philosophical club, in which freemasonry bore a large part. It did not at first come into conflict with the Jacobins, but a contest soon sprang up; and when, in May, 1791, its founder and soul, Claude Fauchet, left Paris to become Bishop of Calvados, it lost all its importance, though in June following it acquired a momentary weight by suddenly becoming very radical. The last number of its organ, the "Bouche de Fer," appeared on July 28, about which time the club was closed.

The great increase of the radical element in the Jacobin Club had so alarmed many of its members, that we find it stated that in the spring of 1791 but fifty deputies to the Assembly were in the habit of attending its meetings, and on July 16 of that year occurred the separation of the Feuillans, which nearly inflicted a death-blow upon the Jacobins, for at first the Feuillans were much their superiors both in numbers and in influence. Of the 2,400 members of the Jacobin Club, 1,800 withdrew from its meetings, and one third of the latter at once joined the Feuillans, while many others soon followed their example. Only 600 therefore remained with the Jacobins, and even this number was diminished by the thorough "purification" of the Club which was at once commenced. Still, in spite of this state of things, superior skill and decision soon gave the Jacobins the upper hand, as was especially manifest in the case of the affiliated societies,

for, of the 400 then existing, 100 had declared unconditionally in favor of the Jacobins by the middle of August, while the rest remained in correspondence with them, but strongly urged a reunion with the Feuillans. By the end of September, most of the old provincial societies had joined the Jacobins, while all the new ones seem to have done so, more than six hundred in all joining them in August and September, and only four joining the Feuillans. In the Assembly the Jacobins were longer in the minority, though they finally gained the superiority there also. The Feuillans, however, used their power while they retained it to enact a club law, which was passed on the 29th of September, 1791, singularly enough upon the proposition of Chapelier, the original founder of the Club Breton, the increasing radicalism of the Club having forced from it most of its original members, though some afterwards rejoined it. If this law, which precluded any club from acting publicly as a body in any way, had ever been enforced, it would have proved a severe blow to the Jacobin Club; but its enforcement seems never to have been even attempted. Indeed, the law was so completely a dead letter, that the Feuillans, who had previously existed only as a party and not as a club, in violation of their own law formed themselves into a club, which survived till the end of December, when it was closed in consequence of popular disorders excited against it by the emissaries of the Jacobin Club.

From about the middle of the year 1791, the question of the way of future procedure excited great attention, and it first brought clearly into view the division, of which signs had however long been visible to the careful observer, between the more moderate and the more radical portion of the Jacobin Club, the Girondists and the "Mountain," — the Jacobins *par excellence*. The history of these two parties is so well known that we hardly need to remark that the Girondists, unlike the Feuillans, did not withdraw from the Club and form a new one, but remained in it, for a considerable time at least, and retained the upper hand there, as they did almost everywhere else. The contest between the two parties was long and severe. Brissot was finally excluded from the Club, October 19, 1792, and the Girondists seem then mostly to have withdrawn

from it; for when the exclusion of Vergniaud, Gensonné, and others, was voted, on the 11th of January following, it was found that it had in point of fact taken place long before, for three months earlier they had omitted to renew their cards of admission. The expulsion or withdrawal of the Girondists from the Club by no means ended the struggle, but it became, on the contrary, all the more bitter. The result is well known; the leading Girondists were arrested in June, 1793, and executed on the last day of the next October. After the imprisonment of the Girondists, the Jacobins had all the power of the state in their hands; but now a new phenomenon appeared, though it was not one which ought to have been unexpected. Up to this time the Jacobins had been the radicals, and all their victories had been over those of more moderate views than their own, but now a party arose determined to out-Jacobin the Jacobins. They were called the *Enragés*, or, from the name of their leader, the Hebertists. They made a struggle worthy of a better cause, but were finally overpowered and executed on March 24; and ten days later, the Dantonists, whose views were more moderate than those of the Jacobins, and who had just assisted the latter in their defeat of the Hebertists, were in turn compelled to mount the scaffold. Robespierre was now all-powerful, a dictator in everything but the name. We have neither space nor inclination to point out in detail the causes of his speedy fall. It is sufficient to say that he did not possess talents adapted to the emergency, and the events of the 9th Thermidor, or July 27, 1794, put an end at once to his power and his life.

After the fall of Robespierre, the total destruction of the Jacobin Club would have been no difficult matter, if indeed it would not have died of itself if it had been left alone. But the victors desired to avail themselves of its *prestige*, and to use it for their own purposes. It was, however, in their hands, only the sceptre of the mighty monarch whom his servants had murdered to possess themselves of his power. The strong arm which had hitherto held it was wanting. A contest at once sprang up between the Jacobins and the Thermidorists, which resulted in the expulsion of the latter from the Club. They however determined to avenge themselves by dooming

the Club itself to destruction; and they found no great difficulty in accomplishing this, for all parties were willing to unite to bring about the ruin of a common enemy, and the feeling of the populace in particular had, from causes which we have not the space to detail, gradually become exceedingly hostile. It was the club law of October 16, 1794, which gave the death-blow to the Jacobin Club. That law forbade all affiliation and correspondence between the societies under a common name, as being subversive of government; it denied even the right of petition under a common name, and obliged every society to present to the police a list of its members, with their ages, birthplaces, occupations, and residences past and present, as well as the periods of their admission into the society. The supporters of this law seemed to be somewhat afraid of their own work, and maintained that its aim was not to destroy the clubs, but to "bring them back to the true object of their foundation." It is difficult, however, to imagine that they really believed any such thing; for they must have known that it was the connection between the central club and its affiliated societies which gave the Jacobins their chief power and influence, and that when these, its arms, were lopped off, it must sink into helplessness and die. Had they failed to perceive this truth of themselves, the obstinacy with which the Jacobins opposed the law ought to have shown it to them. When the law was once passed, the Jacobins handed in the required list of members, and, while urging obedience to the law, sought to postpone their certain doom. Their last great effort was made in the Convention in opposing the accusation and condemnation of Carrier. The committee of the Convention to whom the question was referred was ordered to report on November 9; but on the opening of the meeting, the eager occupants of the crowded galleries learned with great displeasure that the report was postponed for two days. Throughout the day they manifested their dissatisfaction in no dubious manner, and towards evening the crowd, which till then had remained around the Convention, rushed tumultuously to the Jacobin Club. The members of the latter had assembled at the usual hour, and were in the midst of an exciting debate upon the "new conspiracy," whose ob-

ject was the condemnation of Carrier and the Jacobins, when a tumult arose in the galleries, into which a great crowd rushed, and attacked the women who were there, while the windows were broken in by volleys of stones. The Jacobins soon rallied and drove out the intruders, and, by barricading their doors, maintained themselves till the military arrived. The crowd finally scattered towards midnight. Meantime the Jacobins continued their debates, but naturally in a state of great excitement, and the next day they did not fail to bring the matter before the Convention. The result was very different from their anticipations; for the committee to whom the affair was referred made a report the same day, in which they bitterly attacked the Jacobins, and ended by proposing the temporary closing of their Club. But the debates upon this proposition were not finished, when, on November 11, the committee reported in favor of the arrest and trial of Carrier. Just as the vote upon this question was being taken, news came of a tumult in the vicinity of the Jacobin Club, and the Convention at once adjourned. We prefer to let Mr. Zinkeisen relate the rest in his own way.

“The Convent of the Jacobins presented on that day a remarkable appearance. While the upper galleries, those intended for the people, were filled long before the commencement of the meeting, the lower ones, which usually contained the more select public, particularly the friends of the members, remained almost entirely empty. On this occasion, as usual, women constituted the majority of the spectators. All were in a state of the greatest excitement, and each had much to relate of their experiences on the same spot two days before. ‘Shall we still have compassion upon these rascals, these Muscadins, who have so abused us?’ cried out one of these heroines. ‘Well, in spite of their cruelty, here I am again; and if they should treat me so again to-day, I would still be here day after to-morrow. I am a Jacobin. I have sworn to die at my post, and therefore I will die there.’ Universal applause! Every one will share this crown of martyrdom with ‘her sister.’ But while such scenes of patriotic enthusiasm enlivened the galleries, a deathlike silence still reigned in the hall itself. No one showed himself there. The members of the Club may be seen collected in groups in the court, discussing quietly the events of the day. A sheet which has first appeared that morning is passed from hand to hand. It contains a bitter attack upon ‘the faction hostile to the Jacobins’ and their

leaders, especially Tallien and Fréron, and an unskilfully concealed defence of Carrier, well calculated to produce excitement. . . . Suddenly the news arrives that Carrier is really arraigned; they are just voting upon the question of his imprisonment. A general confusion follows the quiet which has hitherto been maintained. The galleries rise *en masse*, and repeat the oath not to leave their post till death comes, and they animate themselves with patriotic songs, — ‘*Allons, enfans de la patrie!*’ ‘*Aux armes, citoyens!*’ ‘*Veillons au salut de l’Empire!*’ At last, just before seven o’clock, the members of the Club enter the hall, and are greeted with great applause by the galleries. A moment of solemn stillness, of eager expectation, follows. The meeting is opened with Raisson as president, and a member rises and demands that ‘The Rights of Man’ be first read. ‘We are,’ says he, ‘at a moment of great distress. The people must know their rights; they are now oppressed, but their uprising will one day be terrible.’ It is voted, that henceforth ‘The Rights of Man’ shall be read at the commencement of every meeting, and that the assemblage listen to this reading with uncovered heads. The reading immediately follows, and the two points which refer to popular societies and ‘insurrection, the holiest of duties in case of persecution,’ are received with peculiar applause. Immediately afterwards the law of July 27, 1793, is read, which affixes heavy punishments to the dissolution of popular societies ‘under any pretext whatever.’ Scarcely is this finished, when a tremendous noise is heard in the outer court. The Muscadins, supported by the rabble, have again opened their batteries with the cry, *A bas les Jacobins! Vive la Convention!* The hall is at once attacked on all sides; the galleries are forcibly entered; they fight hand to hand, and the scenes of the ninth are renewed. The women, in spite of their oaths to die at their posts, rush out amid cries of distress and murder, and are met by the Muscadins, by whom some of them are shamefully maltreated. A bold sally of the Jacobins at last clears the way; the military arrives, with the members of the committee at their head, the populace is dispersed, and the Jacobins resume their meeting under the protection of bayonets. Two captured Muscadins, who had been dragged into the hall, are magnanimously set at liberty, with red caps on their heads. It does not become Jacobins, it is said, who have only sought freedom, to make prisoners. ‘Go hence,’ they were told, ‘and tell your Muscadins what you have heard and seen; tell them whether we have harmed you, and show them your wounds.’ Meantime the noise without continues far into the night, and the cry, *A bas les Jacobins!* echoes incessantly through the broken windows to the farthest corner of the hall. The attack is several times renewed, but is at once repelled by the soldiers, and the Muscadins,

everywhere driven back, seek to gain a foothold in the Rue St. Honoré. The Jacobins finally become uneasy at this revolutionary state of siege in their hall, and one by one they retire; but in order to protect the women from the cruelties of the expectant Muscadins, it is formally voted that each person who retires shall take one of them under his protection on his arm. The Jacobins and Jacobinesses may thus be seen through the darkness of a stormy November night slinking away in couples from the scene of their heroic deeds and most brilliant triumphs. Of those who remain, no one ventures to speak, till at last Carraffa rises once more and says: 'The body of Lepelletier, murdered by the aristocrats, was exhibited to the people. Marat was borne about with his bloody wounds by the Cordeliers in order to excite the people. I therefore propose that all the stones which have been hurled against the friends of equality be carefully gathered up and placed upon the president's table, and be exhibited to the people at the beginning of every meeting.' This ludicrous proposal, loudly applauded by the few persons present, was the last act of the 'Society of the Friends of Freedom and Equality in the former Jacobin Convent at Paris.' One by one the most intrepid Jacobins left the hall with their female companions, and at three o'clock in the morning the doors of the deserted hall were locked and sealed by command of the committee. Thus died the Jacobin Club, in the sixth year of its existence."

Alison's observations upon this event are worthy of quotation: —

"Thus fell the Club of the Jacobins, the victim of the crimes it had sanctioned, and the reaction those had produced. Within its walls all the great changes of the Revolution had been prepared, and all its principal scenes rehearsed; from its energy the triumph of the democracy had sprung, and from its atrocity its destruction arose, — a signal proof of the tendency of revolutionary violence to precipitate its supporters into crime, and render them at last the victims of the atrocities which they have committed. A contemporary journalist has preserved a striking account of the universal transports at the closing of this terrible Club, which with its affiliated societies had so long covered all France with mourning. 'It was a truly touching spectacle to behold the joy of the people at the extinction of the Jacobins. All hearts were opened at the news of the salutary decree of the Convention. In the evening the streets and public places resounded with cries of joy, with almost childish mirth, with games and dances. Every one pressed his friend's hand without mentioning why; all understood what was meant.'"

But though the closing of the Club was received by the people with such evident pleasure, its members were by no means inclined to abandon the field without another struggle; and as they were not allowed to enter their hall, they took refuge in a society of the Faubourg St. Antoine, to which the name of Jacobin was a sufficient passport. But the most prominent of them were arrested a few days afterwards, and from that time forward no mention is made of a meeting of the Jacobins of Paris as a club; and the affiliated societies, branches of the same great tree, soon died a natural death. As a party, however, the Jacobins continued to exist in greater or less numbers throughout the Revolutionary era, and they even established one or two clubs under various names, but they were of brief duration. They are interesting only as forming the last of the true clubs, which led naturally, and almost necessarily, to those secret societies that have played so important a part in the political affairs of Europe during the present century.

We cannot leave this subject without remarking that the Jacobins have usually been too harshly judged as a body. All have been made to suffer for the atrocities of a part, and due attention has not always been paid to the motives by which they were governed. As Alison will hardly be suspected of sympathy with them, or indeed with any democratic movement, we readily quote a passage from his History:—

“Even the Jacobinis of Paris were not destitute of good qualities; history would deviate equally from its first duty and its chief usefulness if it did not bring them prominently forward. With the exception of some atrocious men, such as Collot d’Herbois, Fouché, Carrier, and a few others, who were villains as base as they were inhuman, almost entirely guided by selfish motives, they were for the most part possessed of some qualities in which the seeds of a noble character are to be found. In moral courage, energy of mind, and decision of conduct, they yielded to no one in ancient or modern times; their heroic resolution to maintain amidst unexampled perils the independence of their country, was worthy of the best days of Roman patriotism. . . . Some of them, doubtless, were selfish or rapacious, and used their powers for the purposes of individual lust or private emolument. But others, among whom we must number Robespierre and St. Just, were entirely free from this degrading contamination, and in the atrocities they committed

were governed, if not by public principle, at least by private ambition. Even the blood which they shed was often the result, in their estimation, not so much of terror or danger as of overbearing necessity. They deemed it essential to the success of freedom, and regarded the victims who perished under the guillotine as the melancholy sacrifice which was required to be laid on its altar."

The Jacobin Club was the product of the most extraordinary and terrible political derangement that ever existed. As such complete powerlessness of the government, and so complete an annihilation of all conservative influences and elements, are no longer conceivable, it must ever remain an isolated phenomenon without a parallel in the world's history, for nothing but these could have converted the modest union of forty-four deputies from Brittany, which assembled at Versailles in May, 1789, into that revolutionary power, whose terrible sway for years bade defiance to every other power, and filled the world with horror. And yet the essence of Jacobinism consisted only in its destructive energy. It could destroy, it could not create; and from its very origin there rested upon it the curse of self-annihilation, which brought ruin upon all who endeavored, by its aid, to raise themselves to authority and influence.

After the closing of the Jacobin Club, the convent was declared national property. On the 17th of May, 1795, the Convention ordered the construction upon its site of a market, under the name of *Marché du Neuf Thermidor*; and on June 24 following, the sale of all the buildings of the former convent was decreed. They were soon removed, and the new sheds erected. At a later period, the market was for a long time called the *Marché des Jacobins*, but it is now known as the *Marché St. Honoré*. Though few or no traces of the original building remain, it is worth the traveller's while, if he be in Paris, to make a pilgrimage to the spot where the Jacobin Club once met; and, if his curiosity should lead him thither early in the morning, he will be tempted to think that the confused Babel around him is no unfit emblem of the Club, while the strong-voiced market-women cannot fail to suggest the *dames des halles*, and the heroines who so constantly crowded its galleries.

That the spirit of Jacobinism still exists in Europe, and that it finds many adherents, is a truth which every year's history brings home to the world, and especially to the despots of Europe. But it is not so well known that the race of original Jacobins is not yet entirely extinct. Yet so it is. Mr. Zinkeisen narrates an interview that he had in Paris with one of the "furies of the guillotine," a woman filled with the most profound contempt for all that the world has since experienced, and an equally profound admiration for Robespierre. He went one morning with a friend to a low *café* near the famous *abbaye*, where they had scarcely seated themselves when an old woman of very peculiar appearance entered and took a seat at a table which by common consent seemed left for her. The stuff and fashion of her clothes were of the last century, and in her hand she had a large bag containing her provisions for the day, which she had doubtless just purchased in the *Marché St. Germain*. Her face, which was covered by a projecting bonnet, was wrinkled, browned, and hollow-cheeked, but still expressive, and not without traces of the fire of her earlier passions. She had been one of the most daring, furious heroines of the galleries of the Jacobin Club during "the reign of terror," a fact which was generally known, and which she by no means denied, for she would still have sworn to die at her post for Robespierre. She was reserved, absent-minded, and monosyllabic. "Ah, the divine Marat! The incorruptible Robespierre! The infamous Cabarrus, the jade! They assassinated him, these Thermidorists"; — this was all that could be got out of her. She seemed to wander in another world. That some of her companions, and indeed some of the Jacobins themselves, may still survive, is by no means impossible; for their opponents, surviving royalists of the same generation, may still occasionally be seen in Paris.